WORKERS HAMMER 4
NOVEMBER 2025 A Spartacist League pamphlet £1

HOW TO MAKE YOUR PARTY WORK

The Spartacist perspective

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WORKERS HAMMER 4

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EDITOR: Vincent David ◆ PRODUCTION MANAGER: K Gallagher
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mick Connor

Spartacist Publications, PO Box 42886, London N19 5WY
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Introduction

The creation of a new left party in Britain represents a major opportunity for the British left. However, as anyone involved knows, it has been mired in crisis and controversy. Since the beginning, we in the Spartacist League have sought to intervene actively in the debates within Your Party to provide key political answers to the problems it faces. This pamphlet consists of leaflets we produced towards this aim.

Our earlier articles lay out our broad political perspective in Your Party, which is to cohere revolutionaries around a fight against the dominance of liberalism (pages 5 and 7). It is on this foundation that we produced multiple pieces reacting to developments, from seeking to resolve the polarisation on the trans question (page 17), to bringing home how Tommy Robinson's mass reactionary rally was an indictment of the liberal strategy of the left (page 19), to unveiling the political causes behind the fallout between Corbyn and Sultana (page 21), to motivating the need for sharply attacking and distinguishing ourselves from the Green Party (page 27).

Our leaflet "Let's build a revolutionary caucus in Your Party" (page 24) seeks to offer a draft platform for the purpose of uniting revolutionaries in Your Party around a set of programmatic points.

As Zarah Sultana made a left turn in October, we changed tack and called on socialists to fight within Your Party so that her sharp points would be adopted as party policy (pages 29 and 33).

In the lead-up to the founding conference, where discussions are too often dominated by organisational matters and petty frustrations, our leaflet "Politics first!" (page 35) lays out our outlook for the conference, and warns against multiple pitfalls.

We have titled this pamphlet "How to make Your Party work" precisely to highlight the goal behind all our interventions: build Your Party and make it successful by showing how the intervention of revolutionary Marxists is key. In this way, we aim to advance the struggle against liberals and reformists, who want Your Party to be nothing more than a toothless alliance for the careers of middle-class elements. But we also aim to combat the sectarianism and sterility which too often characterise the British far left.

We urge those who are serious about fighting for a socialist, working-class party to study this pamphlet, and to work with us to cohere a revolutionary tendency in Your Party.

— 17 November

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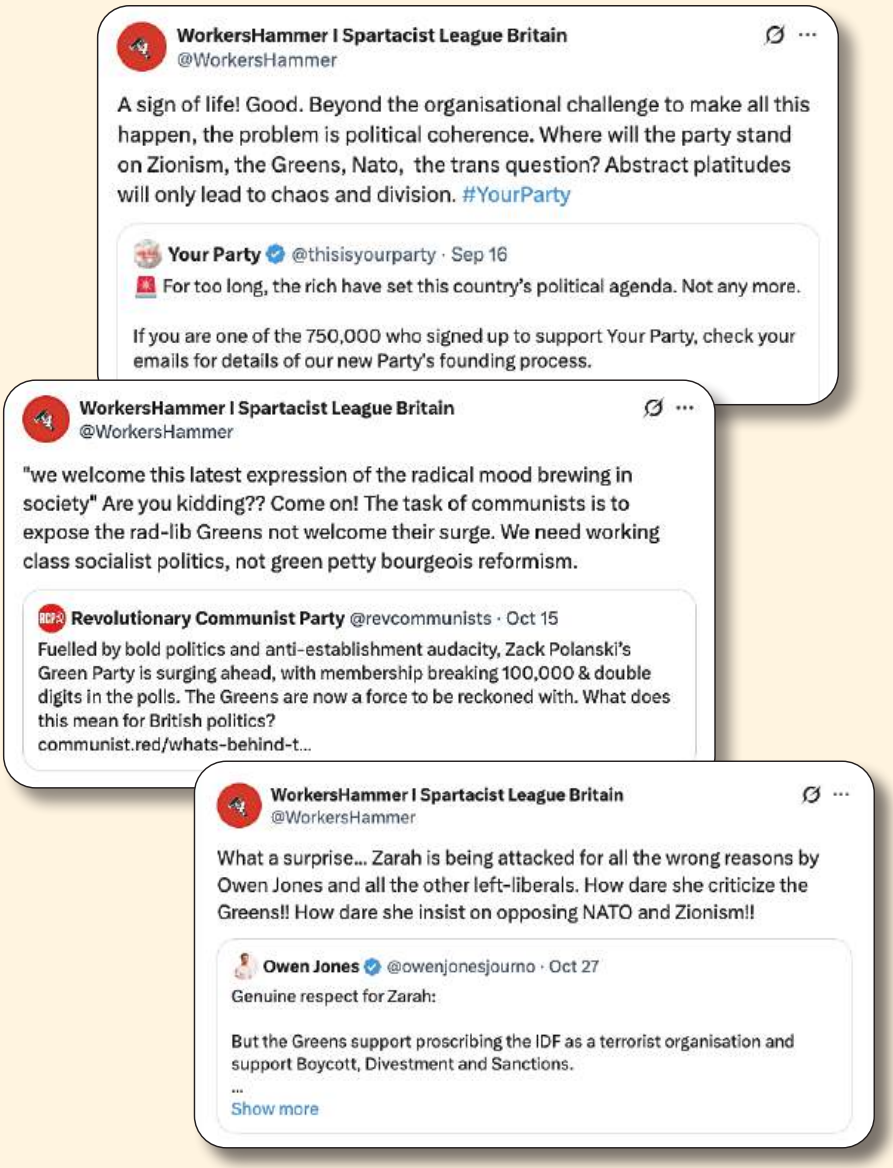
WorkersHammer I Spartacist League Britain
@WorkersHammer
A sign of life! Good. Beyond the organisational challenge to make all this happen, the problem is political coherence. Where will the party stand on Zionism, the Greens, Nato, the trans question? Abstract platitudes will only lead to chaos and division. #YourParty
Your Party @thisisyourparty · Sep 16
For too long, the rich have set this country's political agenda. Not any more.
If you are one of the 750,000 who signed up to support Your Party, check your emails for details of our new Party's founding process.
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"we welcome this latest expression of the radical mood brewing in society" Are you kidding?? Come on! The task of communists is to expose the rad-lib Greens not welcome their surge. We need working class socialist politics, not green petty bourgeois reformism.
Revolutionary Communist Party @revcommunists · Oct 15
Fuelled by bold politics and anti-establishment audacity, Zack Polanski's Green Party is surging ahead, with membership breaking 100,000 & double digits in the polls. The Greens are now a force to be reckoned with. What does this mean for British politics?
communist.red/whats-behind-t...
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What a surprise... Zarah is being attacked for all the wrong reasons by Owen Jones and all the other left-liberals. How dare she criticize the Greens!! How dare she insist on opposing NATO and Zionism!!
Owen Jones @owenjonesjourno · Oct 27
Genuine respect for Zarah:
But the Greens support proscribing the IDF as a terrorist organisation and support Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions.
...
Show more

Three socialist principles for the new left party

No NATO, no Greens, no Zionism

The founding of a new left party opens the possibility of building a radical left-wing alternative to the status quo. But to succeed, socialists and communists must ***not*** remain passive cheerleaders. Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party ended in failure because he was unable to stand up to the liberal establishment when it mattered most. The same mistakes cannot be repeated.

We must ***organise now*** to shape the politics of this new party. The left is divided on many things, but ***all genuine socialists should agree to collaborate and fight side by side for the following three principles***:

1) No to NATO

Increased militarism and austerity go hand in hand. There can be no talk of a fairer Britain if it remains a member of NATO and a partner in US crimes around the world.

2) No alliance with the Greens

The Greens do not stand for socialism but for middle-class liberalism. Socialists cannot be associated with anti-working-class policies such as ULEZ, which seek to fight the climate crisis on the backs of workers. A coalition or non-aggression pact with the Greens would only push the working class away.

3) No to Zionism

The Zionist project is based on the displacement and genocide of the Palestinians. Socialists must oppose Zionism and be clear that the current state of Israel is incompatible with the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

Revolutionaries will be a minority in the new party; we will not control the rules or the structure. It is all the more important that we win the battle of ideas. The three principles above are not inherently communist. Yet they draw a basic political line against the liberal middle-class politics which dominate the British left. A victory on these three points would not only establish the new party as a genuine alternative to the status quo, it would also open a real political space for Marxist ideas.

— 2 August

Spart Talk
A Spartacist Podcast
Revolutionary Trotskyism for the workers movement
sparttalk.org

DITCH THE LIBERALS

WIN THE WORKERS

Workers Hammer

Birmingham bin strike, 25 July

We reprint below an article from Workers Hammer *no 256, Autumn 2025 (5 September).*

Hatred for Starmer's Labour is at new highs, Farage is entertaining deals with the Taliban to deport refugees, and the moribund Tories are trying to win back their base by one-upping Farage and promising that they will deport women and children to Afghanistan as well, not just the men, like that softie Farage!

In this utterly miserable state of British politics, the launch of Your Party by Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana is a welcome development indeed. It presents a real opportunity to forge a left-wing alternative to the status quo which can win workers away from the right and halt the march of Reform UK.

But this will not be an automatic process; the road ahead is a complete minefield. For starters, not only is the right gaining ground, but many among the left and activist layers are in denial about just how discredited the left is among the working class. If this wasn't bad enough, instead of debating the reasons for the gulf between the left and workers (hello lessons of Corbynism!), most are putting the cart before the horse, bickering over organisational questions and whether the structure should favour federalism, one man one vote or sortition (what even is that?).

There seems to be a deep illusion

that by having good and democratically arrived at slogans about peace, justice, anti-racism, anti-austerity and socialism, the working class will be drawn to the party like a moth to a flame; everyone will get together and unite—immigrants, minorities, white workers, pro-Palestinians, trans people, feminists, environmentalists and anyone else sick of Broken Britain. Meanwhile, Corbyn and Sultana are engaged in some intense clique fights which have bubbled out into the open, and there's a fresh new controversy on the trans question. Not a good start, to put it mildly.

At this rate, things could turn into a disaster. To be successful, Your Party needs to emerge as a serious challenger to Reform. It can only do so by being a pro-working-class party, which means understanding what drove the working class to the right, learning the lessons and not repeating those mistakes. It must also take a hard stance in defence of ***all*** the oppressed.

Your Party activists need to put the organisational bickering and turf wars to the side and provide real answers to the hard questions polarising Britain: immigration, rising ethno-nationalism, anti-trans hysteria, foreign policy, and the state of the economy. A failure to provide working-class solutions to these problems will guarantee the failure of the new party, turning the left into an even bigger joke, which will only strengthen the right. In short, Your Party needs to win the workers!

How liberalism drove workers to the right

If Reform's strategy to win the white working class is to be the anti-establishment voice, then why hasn't the left been successful at doing the same? Surely talking consistently about austerity and fighting the bosses makes the left an anti-establishment voice too, so why hasn't it gained from the discontent at the system?

The short answer is libralism. But "what is liberalism?" people always ask. Isn't it good to be a liberal, to be "progressive"? Liberal***ism*** is the use of "progressive" ideas by the ruling class—ie, the City of London—to advance its own interests at the expense of the workers. For decades, in Britain as in other countries in the West, the ruling classes embraced an enlightened view on social issues as they shafted the working class by offshoring vast swathes of industry, leaving entire regions deindustrialised, hollowing out trade unions and condemning working-class communities to rot.

Not convinced? Think back to New Labour: along with bombing Iraq to bits at the orders of the White House, Blair went on a union-bashing spree and rammed through huge privatisations of public services. But at the same time, Blairism was also defined by socially liberal policies, such as anti-racism, feminists in the cabi-

net, huge hikes in immigration and the Good Friday Agreement. Blairism pandered to certain segments of society using progressivism while openly mounting attacks on the working class. This dynamic continued under the Tories and drove large layers of white workers to hate "woke" ideas and resent those they supposedly benefited, ie, racial and sexual minorities, seeing them as responsible for their worsening conditions and a general breakdown of society.

There is no better example of this than the EU and Brexit, a decisive question for Britain on which most of the establishment banded together under the banner of "Remain". Brexit was a referendum on the liberal status quo that was devastating the country, pure and simple. Most of the working class was done and wanted out but it faced a barrage of blackmail by the City and the *Guardian*-progressives: Leavers were hordes of backward Northerners (ie, anyone living north of the M25) and uncultured anti-immigrant bigots who hated diversity; in short, Brexiteers were racists.

This hysteria divided the country along the lines of "backward Northerners" vs "progressive Londoners", buried the genuine grievances of native-born workers, abandoning them to the likes of Johnson and Farage, and shackled immigrants and their defenders to the "progressive" wing of the ruling class, their real enemy!

Instead of providing a working-class opposition to the EU, most of the left and trade union leaders

criminally echoed the same liberal blackmail about open borders and anti-racism. This is true first and foremost of Corbyn who jumped ship from "Leave"—his historic position—and campaigned for "Remain" because he prioritised keeping unity with the Blairites, ever faithful servants of the City. As such, despite all the talk of socialism and workers' struggles, the left failed to emerge as a real alternative because it was completely bathed in the very liberalism of the ruling class. Either it was unable to see how the ruling class was using "progressive" ideas to sink the rest of the country, or it consciously embraced liberalism as a step forward.

In the last decades, these same dynamics were constantly at play on a whole number of questions making it easy for the right to use anti-immigrant and anti-LGBTQ+ poison to whip up reaction. The unions, for their part, while holding immense potential for organising the multiracial working class, are becoming more of a joke everyday: they organise anti-racism and anti-everything campaigns but are incompetent at winning real gains (no, petty annual raises are not gains), which only drives workers further away. The 2022-23 strike wave was a case in point. It was driven to defeat by trade union leaders who couldn't bring themselves to put the Tory government out of its misery. Would Starmer's Labour or the right act so emboldened if they were afraid of union power? Absolutely not.

Your Party and all those looking to it must understand what got us here: decades of assault by the City waged under the banner of progressive ideas, with no credible force on the left and the labour movement to mount a fundamental challenge to this liberal poison—***this*** has pushed workers towards the nativist poison of the right wing as the only anti-establishment, anti-liberal voice, ultimately pitting them against immigrants and minorities. Of course, there are nuances here and there, but only wilful idiots or apologists for liberalism and the union tops will deny the broad contours of our explanation. (We of course welcome debate.) What is urgently needed to avoid repeating past failures and build unity in the multiracial working class is a ***political break with liberalism***. This just so happens to be the ***central lesson*** of Corbynism.

Your Party: why so cliquey and bureaucratic?

One million have signed up to Your Party's mailing list, unofficial branches are already popping up, and activists are hosting a slew of (sometimes chaotic and undemocratic) meetings. At the same time, since the very start there has been constant drama between the faceless and nameless cliques behind Corbyn and Sultana. Many are rightly concerned that Your Party could turn into a bureaucratic and factional mess and

self-destruct. What's behind this and how can we prevent it?

The source of bureaucratism is the unfortunate combination of ***zero*** strategy and careerist appetites (did you really think Corbyn and Sultana are above careerism?). Without any meaningful answers for anything and lacking genuine differences, all struggles end up revolving around secondary questions and ultimately get posed on the organisational plane: how to use structures and connections to best secure influence, leadership, money etc. Politics and empty slogans of class solidarity get tacked on to this infighting to keep the hope alive for the masses.

Sceptical? Let's make it concrete. Both Corbyn and Sultana have thrown punches out in the open, with Sultana calling out Corbyn's capitulation on the anti-Semitism witch hunt and Corbyn rebuking her for it; they don't see eye-to-eye on the Greens and there are many other issues which, if left unresolved, promise to tear the party apart. But instead of genuine and open debates, what we see is a giant shroud of secrecy and a ridiculous focus on the party structure. Corbyn wants a federation, ie, a coalition of different entities and groups under the umbrella of Your Party, but Sultana wants a more "unitary" structure with "One Member One Vote" (OMOV). Both insist theirs is the best model for ensuring democracy, and the "grassroots" activists are losing sleep figuring out which structure is best—after all, both have their merits and flaws, so how to decide?

Sultana's OMOV is geared to her goal of securing the co-leadership with Corbyn and advancing her career as the face of the British left. How exactly does OMOV help her? Because it allows her to appeal to the masses (hurrah democracy!) against the existing trade union tops, independent councillors and MPs, and even socialist groups all concerned about their turf (read "local issues"). On the other hand, the federal model suits Corbyn better because it allows him to duck responsibility, avoid taking hard positions and keep being Corbyn (ie, a conciliator) while pretending to do something. In reality, neither one is inherently democratic because both serve the interests of these two great leaders, not the working class: a federation hands more influence to sellout trade union leaders and local politicians; OMOV democracy guarantees drowning critics and detractors in mass Zoom meetings which always operate as the stomping grounds of those in charge.

Beyond the specific clique dynamics, the emerging bureaucratism in Your Party is fundamentally about containing the various contradictions pulling at the yet to be formed party. Bureaucratism is not the evil creation of "bad people", but is the unavoidable conse-

quence of conciliating the ruling class. We can already see this in Corbyn's angry reaction (what happened to the cute grandpa vibes?!) when asked if he is anti-Zionist. The problem he faces on the question of Zionism and many others is that he cannot sit on the fence. If he respects the red lines of the ruling class over Israel to appease the petty bureaucrats, careerist councillors and local "personalities" flocking to the new party, he will necessarily have to trample the radical aspirations of his base. For this, bureaucratism is indispensable.

This goes to show that if the party is not built on a clear working-class programme, one that can overcome the various conflicts between oppressed groups through a consistent struggle against the ***entire*** ruling class, it will necessarily have to suppress the legitimate aspirations of certain segments of the party, whether that be anti-Zionists, trans activists, communists or the working class. To fight bureaucratism, we must of course fight for rules which will best favour the most radical segments of the new party; but we cannot do this in a political void. This struggle must be based on a set of clear principles which can unite the working class.

How to win and unite the working class

1. Palestine and NATO

While Britain has seen some of the largest pro-Palestine demonstrations in the world, they have also been detached from large layers of the working class. The truth is that not everyone is spurred into action through moral outrage; many don't see Palestine as a cause linked to their lives and even come to resent those who they deem to be distracting from "domestic issues". Still more, there are those who are patriotic or who work in the arms industry. That a spectacle of such unimaginable horror and devastation as we see in Gaza hasn't jolted workers into taking mass action is not due to their moral failings, despite what many think. It's because the pro-Palestinian movement has been unable to link the fight for Palestinian liberation to the needs and struggles of the working class.

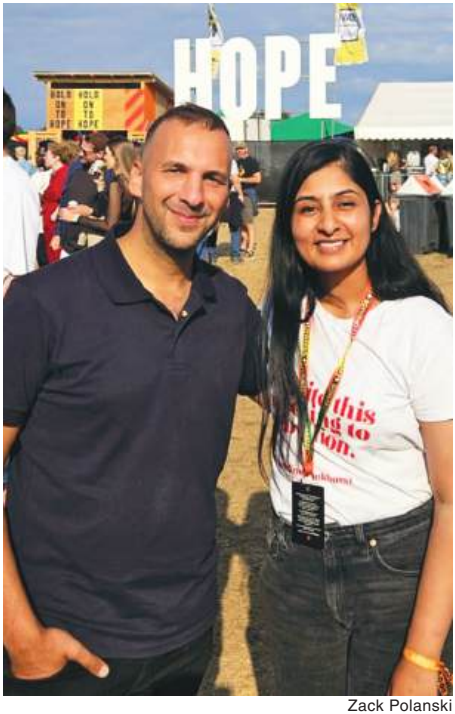
The pro-Palestinian movement must stop counting on empty appeals for peace and justice and build alliances with the working class (no, union leaders speechifying doesn't count) on an anti-imperialist basis. It must show how the struggles of British workers for their needs are inseparable from the cause of Palestine, and that common to both is the foreign policy of the ruling class—NATO and Zionism.

When it comes to NATO many are quick to point to the fact that many workers support the alliance. This is true, but the answer is not to back down, but to convince workers why it is important to oppose

NATO. The argument is simple: all of Britain's recent wars were to secure its position as top US lapdog; workers, sent to kill and be killed, lost out and this only created new problems which have come home in the form of a refugee crisis. More wars, for the increasingly crazy plans of the White House, will plunge Britain into a spiral of disaster. Like before, the working class will be the first to lose, whether through austerity or conscription. The way to break out of this spiral is to make a clean break with allegiance to the US, NATO and British imperialism.

As Trump squeezes the allies to cough up more for NATO, many in left and liberal circles are outraged. But any who cross this red line for the British establishment are *persona non grata*, putting them in the impossible position of opposing NATO while eyeing No 10. Their solution is to ask for a nicer NATO (à la Zack Polanski, new Green Party leader) while maintaining intact Britain's partnership with the US, giving oxygen to the horrendous illusion that Britain, and NATO generally, play a vital role in ensuring safety or defending democracy against authoritarianism (ie, the Ukraine war).

Whether over NATO or Palestine, the equivocations of the liberals end up conceding on key principles of anti-Zionism and anti-imperialism. But they also abandon the arguments most likely to win over the working class: those based on a clear class opposition to the ruling class. This is why on these questions, as on all others, ditching the liberals is necessary to win the working class.



Zack Polanski

We hope not...

2. No alliances with the Greens

Your Party must oppose all alliances with the Greens and the pro-green agenda. With Greens having gained a chunk of Labour's vote in the last general election and with new leader Polanski spitting radical truths, there is pressure on Your Party to merge or build coalitions with the Greens to consolidate the progressive vote. This would be a

mistake that would drive working people away.

Green Party politics are the quintessential expression of petty-bourgeois metropolitan liberalism. Huge swathes of working people hate the green agenda because the ruling class has co-opted the concern for the environment to mount countless attacks against workers, closing factories by upholding the banner of net zero.

The climate crisis is real and there is an urgent need to find answers, but the Greens' solution is to tweak the status quo at the expense of the working class, which is a recipe for disaster. Consider ULEZ: exacting an extortionate levy ***each day*** someone with a polluting car comes into London makes no qualitative difference to the climate problems of London or Britain. Nor does filling the coffers of the Mayor of London improve public transport, contrary to many promises. It is a pure tax on working people for not being rich enough to afford "clean" cars.

Your Party must not conciliate the green agenda and must oppose Sultana's overtures to the Greens. Instead, it must win environmental activists to the understanding that their very association with liberalism alienates the working class, the only force that can change the direction of society in a positive way and ultimately fix the climate crisis.

3. The trans conundrum

The trans question shows most clearly just how easily differences threaten to blow apart Your Party. Tensions over the trans question are the latest scandal, with Independent MP and Your Party secretary Adnan Hussain tweeting in defence of trans-exclusionary women's "single sex spaces". Since then, many have called on Corbyn and Sultana to denounce him, with Sultana tweeting that "bigotry has no place" in the new party, only to get heat from those sympathetic to Hussain. Quickly, supporters from both sides launched into fiery exchanges on backwardness, Muslims, conservative women, the woke left—all to the delight of the right.

In one of her tweets Sultana aptly pointed out that "The same forces targeting migrants and Muslims are attacking LGBTQ+ people, especially trans people." This is true, but it will take much more to really unite the LGBTQ+ movement and the Muslim community. The only way to cut through the poisonous debates on this question is to frontally take on wrong views on both sides.

The starting point must be the ***defence of the rights of trans people***. It is essential that the new party patiently explain to Muslims and other socially conservative sectors of society why it is in their own interests to oppose the backlash against trans people. We must sharply oppose comments like those of Adnan Hussain and show how restrictions on the rights of trans

people to accessing facilities corresponding to their gender are the same kind of encroachment on civil liberties as the ban on veils enforced in many countries. The point is that individuals should be free to choose what they want to do with their own bodies. This should be a basic unifying principle in Your Party.

The main aim must be to push back against the mounting wave of reaction. This does not require that we agree with everything in each other's heads, but that we defend each other's rights. We should not expect all Muslim people to agree with gender transition, nor should we expect the socialists in Your Party to agree with women being veiled. The point is to unite against a common enemy.

But for this to have any chance of happening, pro-trans activists need to consider the precarious position they find themselves in and adapt their strategy to these conditions. They must understand that the socially conservative sentiments on gender and sexuality in the Muslim community or in the working class won't go away through moral blackmail or shocking their sensibilities. The sharp social segregation of the sexes is not simply the product of conservative ideas but is rooted in the millenary institution of the monogamous family. You can't shame this institution away. You need to transform social conditions, and you cannot do this in isolation from the rest of society.

What does this mean concretely? It certainly does ***not*** mean conceding when it comes to the rights of trans people. But it does mean making certain adjustments to reach out to socially conservative layers of society. For example, when it comes to women's shelters, we should insist that trans women have access to women's shelters. But we should also demand that more shelters be built and that some cater for socially conservative women who insist on strict biological segregation. Only through such a flexible (and non-liberal) approach can a real alliance be built between trans activists and other oppressed sectors of society.

4. The immigration quagmire

It's starting to be a bit scary to be a minority in Britain. The dominant strategy to fight back is to shout and yell "Racist!" at those who question the immigration problem, rather than pinning it on the liberal status quo of the last 30 years. This hysterical defence model only drives people towards racist reaction and strengthens the far right, and ultimately, it ***undermines the defence of immigrants***.

The most important thing in mounting any kind of fightback against racist reaction is to not be seen in any way as defending the current status quo. It is not inherently racist to oppose the current government's policy of housing refugees in deprived communities or of encouraging mass immigration

to keep Britain's decaying economy sputtering a little longer. To convincingly show that Farage is scapegoating immigrants and letting the real culprits off the hook, we must not shy away from acknowledging that the status quo is a disaster. Only then can we start to get a hearing for socialist solutions that address the roots of Britain's social decline.

The task for communists

To be successful, Your Party needs to unite the working class and oppressed. Many in the socialist left will agree with this. The real struggle will be over ***how***. We have argued that this can only happen through an intransigent struggle against the influence of liberalism in the party. Most groups will either reject this or minimise its centrality by talking endlessly about the perfect 5, 10 or 20 point transitional or revolutionary programme, or whether there should be nationalisations or expropriations with compensation.

The differences among the revolutionary left at this stage of development of this party are not about who screams most loudly about socialism or communism, but about the ***tasks***; how will the far left shape the politics of this party and fight to strengthen the position of the working class? How can socialists use this moment to change the balance of class forces in Britain?

In our view, Marxists have two interrelated tasks: first, as we have been insisting, to fight as hard as possible for a working-class break with liberalism by sharpening the class polarisations on key questions. The Marxist movement has long known that any party of the working class must be politically independent of the ruling class, its ideology and any elements tied to these. Failure to fight for this means that the pro-socialist impulses of this party's supporters—opposition to the ruling class, imperialism and Zionism—will be swamped by conciliation of the status quo, paving the way for another Corbynite debacle.

The second task must be to win over left-wing elements to a Leninist banner, the only antidote to the plague of left-Labourism. For this we must cohere a revolutionary wing which demonstrates through debates why the Marxist programme (yes, including the dictatorship of the proletariat) is essential to overcome the reactionary polarisations and advance the struggles of the working class ***now***.

The launching of Your Party presents an occasion for left groups to work together on common issues, as well as to fight out political differences. Key to the success is for the left to break from its usual cliquey *modus operandi* and keep the interests of the working class front and centre.■

Sultana's disastrous comment

In a recent interview at Pod Save the UK, Zarah Sultana declared that "there is no room for socially conservative views in a socialist left-wing party, period". She doubled down, saying that "if people don't have pro-trans, pro-migrant, anti-racist values" then they have no place in Your Party. This is a disastrous comment which threatens to destroy Your Party before it is even founded.

Let's get one thing out of the way: Your Party ***must*** defend the rights of trans people. But it matters how we fight for this. Rather than making an ***argument*** as to why it is in the interests of Muslims and workers to take up the defence of trans people, Sultana is simply drawing a hard organisational line based on vague "progressive values". This is nothing but liberal identity politics and the surest way to alienate the entire Muslim population as well as most working-class people. Rather than building unity between Muslims, workers and trans people, it only divides them even more.

According to Sultana's yardstick, a liberal who supports NATO, refuses to oppose Zionism but who holds "progressive" views on the trans question would be welcome in Your Party. But a socially conservative Muslim who opposes Israel and imperialism would have to be kicked out. This is exactly the kind of liberal "progressivism" which has driven the working class away from the radical left and which only serves the ruling class.

The basis to unite trans people, Muslims and workers is ***not*** "progressive" ideas, but the struggle against their common enemy: the British ruling class.

To Muslims as well as to socially conservative workers, Your Party must say: the backlash against trans people is the spearhead of the broader Christian conservative reaction which is also directed at all the oppressed—Muslims particularly. The way to resist it is to build unity among the oppressed groups, including with trans people. We do not demand that you agree with gender theories. But to build such unity, it is necessary to defend the rights of trans people, including the right to do what they want with their bodies. Restrictions on the rights of trans people to access facilities corresponding to their gender are the same kind of encroachment on civil liberties as the ban on veils enforced in many countries. Conciliating the right wing on this will disarm us when they come for Muslims, women, etc.

To pro-trans activists, Your Party must say: yes, we must defend the

rights of trans people. But we must also wake up: the majority of people in this country are either indifferent or outright hostile to trans rights. This does not mean we must abandon the fight. But it means we must fight differently.

The trans movement cannot advance without an alliance with the working class and Muslims. Shaming people, hysterical reactions and drawing hard lines over what is in people's heads will only *isolate* trans people. This must *stop*. Rather, we must win the argument. And for that, we must wage the battle not on whatever "progressive" ideas are in somebody's head, but on the need to unite in defence of each other's rights in order to fight the British ruling class and social reaction.

Sultana's comment is a perfect example of how liberal politics *divide* the working class. It shows how she has drawn no lessons from the failure of the radical left in the past decades. And it shows how socialists must wage the most resolute struggle against liberal progressivism and fight for class-struggle politics. This is the only way to unite the oppressed. Otherwise, Your Party will implode.

— 12 September

Women & Revolution

A Trotskyist journal on the struggle for women's and sexual emancipation

iclfi.org/wr/46

13 September

DISASTER FOR THE LEFT

The first duty of revolutionaries is to tell the truth, no matter how bitter. And the truth is that in London on 13 September, Tommy Robinson's side won hands down. His right-wing demonstration "Unite the Kingdom" gathered hundreds of thousands of people (if not a million) while the counter-demonstration organised by Stand Up to Racism barely reached 10,000. The right was emboldened, confident and ready for a showdown. The counter-demonstration was tiny, frail, wishy-washy and ended up being trapped. There is no point in sugarcoating it: this was a devastating defeat for our side, terrifying for all the oppressed in this country and a sinister warning of what is to come.

This must be a ***wake-up call for all leftists!*** Whoever will try to hide the truth and minimise this defeat is simply doing a disservice to the cause of anti-racism and socialism. One point must be clear: whatever the left has been doing for years is simply ***not working***.

And what is not working is the liberal politics of Stand Up to Racism, which have dominated the fight against the right and whose total impotence was on full display today. The whole demonstration was organised on the basis of liberal platitudes like "refugees are welcome here", "no borders", "love not hate", etc. And, correspondingly, the whole thing was a pathetic peace crawl, suitable for NGOs, Labourite feminists and peaceniks, which makes the left look hippy-dippy and unserious.

The demo barely had any stewards. As it got close to Trafalgar Square, and as right-wingers were staging one provocation after the other, there was no organised force to protect the demo. This is because it was built like a carnival, not a fighting force. And also because Stand Up to Racism entirely relies on the police to protect its demonstrations—another liberal illusion which is, in fact, an admission of bankruptcy. No wonder minority workers stayed away.

The demonstration was also ***not*** organised as a pole of working-class struggle. Yes, the banners of every trade union in the country were there. But anyone who was there knows that it was retirees and leftists carrying them. One has to be wilfully blind to ignore the fact that

most workers were on Tommy Robinson's side. This is again the result of the complete bankruptcy of liberal politics. For years, the strategy of Stand Up to Racism has been to yell "racist" and "fascist" at any worker expressing concern about immigration and the refugee crisis. Such a strategy has only pushed workers into the arms of the right.

And the cherry on the cake was the line-up of speakers: Labour MPs Diane Abbott and John McDonnell, trade union bureaucrats from the NEU, PCS, ASLEF and the TUC ***who all support the Starmer government!*** These people are ***for*** the government and ***part of the establishment!*** Is it any surprise then that most working people associate the left with the defenders of the status quo?!

Liberal platitudes and moralism, reliance on the police and an open alliance with supporters of the government. This is what is pushing millions of working people to Tommy Robinson and Nigel Farage.

Now, it is easy to throw rocks at Stand Up to Racism. They and the SWP do deserve a sharp condemnation for having led the fight against the right into the blind alley of liberal politics. But what have the other left groups been doing? How have they tried to fight this orientation? The RCP, SAlt, FRFI, the CPB, the CPGB, the SP, etc. This is a defeat for all of us. But the truth is that these groups refuse to confront the liberalism of the left—the source of today's disaster. This must ***stop***. The country has shifted to the right and the whole left is in denial about it. It is time to ***wake up!*** To have a fight about the causes of this and what to do about it. At a minimum, all left groups must ***work together*** for the next counter-protest, with the aim of forming a militant and solid bloc to stand up to the right—in the best tradition of the united front. Above all else, we need to win back the working class to our side.

On 13 September, the Spartacist League formed a modest but real pole of militancy in the demonstration. We marched under the banner "Smash racist thugs, reject Farage, break with Starmer", together with one reading "Ditch the liberals, win the workers". We chanted "Peace and love won't stop the fascists, mobilise the working masses", together with slogans against Starmer. (Unsurprisingly, some right-wing demonstrators were disarmed by our slogans against Starmer. Turns out, when you frontally oppose the government, you actually can undercut Robinson's support.)

Because the truth is that most people on Robinson's side were not fascists. You can only imagine when, in a few months, actual Nazis get organised to smash our side. We must not wait to find out. Time is running out for socialists. Either we change course or we sink with the liberals. 13 September must be a brutal wake-up call.

— 13 September

THE POLITICS BEHIND THE SHITSHOW

Your Party has not even launched and already it is splitting. "Unauthorised email", "supposed membership portal", "sexist boys club": recriminations and accusations are flying fast. Corbyn and the independent MPs on one side, Sultana and her crew on the other. After Stand Up to Racism's defeat by Tommy Robinson on Saturday, this is the second humiliating disaster for the left in less than a week. For many, despair is setting in. But despair won't advance anything. The key is to understand what is going on and offer a road forward.

At first glance it appears that Your Party is being torn apart by egos, cliques and turf wars. These are all at play. But they are not the main reason for the unfolding fiasco. Just look at the far right: Although it is run by a bunch of self-interested egomaniacs and is full of factional strife, it nonetheless has the wind in its sails. To understand anything, we must look at the broader political context. In Britain and throughout the West, we are witnessing a political sea change. The liberal status quo is rapidly disintegrating, and we are moving towards a new right-wing authoritarian order.

The reason Corbyn and Sultana can't get along is not primarily because of their egos but because they have no coherent programme which can unite the left at this current historic juncture. If they finally decided to launch a party after years of dithering, it was not out of foresight but because of the irresistible pressure to do something to stop Farage, build an alternative to Labour and oppose the genocide in Palestine. The problem is that this left-wing pressure is not the result of a militant upswing of the working class but a frantic reaction to a collapsing liberal centre.

Whereas the insurgent right can unite around tearing down the status quo, the left is desperately trying to build something out of the scraps of woke left-liberalism. The result is that Corbyn and Sultana are building on a shoddy political foundation racked by contradictions. Should the new party be anti-Zionist or not? How should it deal with the trans question? How to unite socially conservative minorities and urban progressives? Neither of the

factions can overcome the tensions on these questions. And since neither is seeking to have a real political debate on any of this, Your Party is fracturing on purely organisational lines. The result is not only confusing and unclarifying but extremely destructive.

What to do?

The first thing is to stop sugar-coating reality. The left needs to understand just how dangerous the current situation is. Many sought to present Tommy Robinson's victory last Saturday as a blip which does not reflect the real balance of forces in society. The size of his demonstration (downplayed by most) was compared to the number of signups to Your Party, trade union membership and the Palestine demonstrations. The problem is that the outcome of political conflicts is not settled by numbers on pieces of paper but through the clash of living forces.

Your Party is crashing before it is even founded, and the trade unions are hollowed out by decades of attacks by the ruling class and sabotage by their own leaders. As for the Palestinian movement, it is stagnating and largely powerless in the face of the ongoing genocide. Meanwhile, the far right is gaining ground because it is seen as the only real force opposed to the status quo. To recognise this reality is not to be defeatist. Rather, it is the precondition to start getting out of the hole we find ourselves in.

The second thing to do is to ***draw political lessons***. We have to stop burying our heads in the sand and realise that the politics that the left has been pushing for the last decades are ***not working***. Because of its association with liberalism and identity politics, the left has alienated itself from huge parts of the working class and is seen by many as a defender of the status quo. For a left-wing political project to have any chance at success, it must rid itself of the albatross of liberalism and turn its attention towards winning the working class. This does not mean turning our backs on minorities but elaborating a programme which can unite all the oppressed in a common struggle against the ruling class (see "Sultana's disastrous comment", page 17).

Finally, against the bureaucratic infighting we need to fight for ***political clarity***. The Corbyn-Sultana feud is a bad split; neither side should be supported. Clearly for Your Party (or any other left working-class party) to see the light of day, there will need to be sharp struggles. But these need to be waged on the basis of clear political positions. Although many on the far left think that the new party should oppose NATO, oppose the Greens and have a class approach to politics, most refuse to concretely fight for these positions. Instead, they are busy passing abstract kumbaya motions about democracy, transparency and peace on earth. We

need to ***keep organising*** Your Party meetings despite the chaos at the top but ***stop*** sweeping the hard questions under the rug and have debates on the real issues.

Whatever happens to Your Party, the task for socialists is to fight harder than ever to break the left from its disastrous course and start rebuilding its influence on a strong working-class foundation. As the winds of reaction grow stronger by the day, we must not let ourselves be overwhelmed by sentiments of despair. Nor can we hang on to rose-tinted illusions about the immediate prospects. And honestly, the last thing we need is the Greens. We must prepare for a long and arduous struggle, under increasingly difficult conditions. This is not an easy road, but it is the only real road for those who are serious about advancing the struggle for working-class emancipation.

— 18 September

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A call to socialists:

Let's build a revolutionary caucus in Your Party

We all know the far right is on the rise and that there is an urgent need for a socialist working-class alternative to Farage and Starmer. Your Party is a chance to build such an alternative, but from the start the Corbyn and Sultana factions have been plagued by indecision and infighting. While there have been raging debates about the structure of the new party, barely anything has been said about its political substance.

Yet, the acrimonious factionalism over money and positions is not merely caused by personalities and egos, but by the absence of ***political answers*** to the problems facing the left. Both factions recite the empty mantras of "peace", "justice" and "solidarity". While a few years ago these were enough to maintain some kind of coherence among the left, this clearly won't work in this period of sharp polarisations and crisis. Fundamentally, the only way to solve the paralysis at the top and build a strong party is to have a ***clear programme*** that meets the challenges of our time.

To win workers, Your Party must get away from the liberal, middle-class politics which have dominated the left since the Blair era, and which have contributed more than anything to pushing workers towards the right. To win them back, Your Party must reject identity politics and fight for a class-struggle socialist programme.

Of course, this does ***not*** mean abandoning the fight for women, Muslims, trans people, immigrants or Palestine in favour of "bread and butter" issues. Rather, what is needed is a programme capable of ***combining*** the economic struggle of the working class with the struggle of oppressed groups against their common enemy: the British ruling class.

But such a programme will not magically emerge. It needs to be fought for against the stale notions of "progressive" liberalism which currently dominate Your Party. In other words, to get socialist politics, socialists must fight for them.

This is why a revolutionary caucus is needed. The Spartacist League wants to build such a caucus, but we cannot do this on our

own. We want to work with other organisations and individuals to build it. If we want this new party to succeed, socialists must work together and place the interests of the movement above those of their own organisation or clique. First and foremost, we are interested in ***opening a debate*** on the policies needed to get Your Party off the ground and win mass support in the working class.

Below we propose a set of principles which we think could serve as a basis to regroup revolutionary elements in Your Party. Get in touch with us to debate these and to work with us in building a revolutionary caucus.

Draft platform

For a planned economy run by workers, for workers!

The City of London has destroyed this country. Deindustrialisation, privatisation, falling living standards, stagnant productivity, the North-South divide; all this and more has been caused by the fact that the economy revolves around this cancer destroying everything that is good for workers. The only road to regenerate Britain is through the expropriation of the City, and the establishment of a plan for re-industrialisation designed by the working class, for the working class.

A working-class position on immigration.

Farage and Tommy Robinson scapegoat immigrants and foster racist divisions. Starmer and the City encourage mass immigration to prop up a rotting economy and drive down wages. Neither of these are any good for the working class. As socialists, we oppose closing the border, but we also oppose the government's policy of mass immigration. Instead of an immigration policy dictated by the bosses, we need one determined by the needs and interests of the working class.

For the unity of workers, Muslims and trans people!

There can be no place for bigotry in Your Party. But to have any hope of uniting the left we must win the argument, not simply moralise and exclude people who have different views on social questions. One does not need to be a Muslim to oppose the attacks on the Muslim community. And one does not need to agree with gender theory to defend the rights of trans people to live their lives how they wish. We do not need to agree with all the ideas in each other's heads. To unite we need to agree to fight for ***each other's rights*** against the ongoing reactionary backlash.

No to Zionism!

Zionism is a nationalist project based on the displacement and oppression of the Palestinian people.

It is the ideology behind Israel's genocide and has no place in the labour movement. Peace in the Middle East and the unity of Arabs and Jews can only be achieved through opposition to Zionism, support to the liberation of the Palestinians and respect for the democratic rights of all peoples.

Down with US & British imperialism!

British foreign policy is designed to serve the interests of the City of London, itself a part of the American Empire. Wars and interventions by Britain and the US abroad have brought disaster around the globe, while bringing only misery and crisis at home. Now, the US is pressuring its allies to re-arm for more wars, which will mean further squeezing working people. We say: ***No more arms to Ukraine and Israel! No to NATO! Down with the war drive!***

No alliance with the Greens!

The Green Party embodies everything the working class hates about the left today: self-righteous, middle-class politics that put abstract ideals above real living conditions. The Greens are not for the working class or socialism, nor do they want to be. An alliance with them will only repel workers.

For Irish unity! Self-determination for Scotland and Cymru!

The "United Kingdom" is oppressive to Irish Catholics, Scots and Welsh. British imperialism subjugated Ireland for centuries; it must finally be thrown out of the whole island. As for the Scottish and Welsh nations, their fate should be determined by the democratic will of their people, not by the parasites in Westminster.

Yes to trade unions! No to pro-capitalist union leaders!

The trade unions are the mass organisations for the defence of the working class. At least that's what they should be! For decades the trade unions have been run into the ground by leaders who stand closer to the bosses than their own members. We cannot let these people take control of Your Party. Whether to rebuild the unions or found a new left party, we need leaders who stand on clear socialist principles and are ready to take the fight to the bosses.

Down with the monarchy! For a workers republic!

Workers finally need a government and state which serves their interests, not those of a handful of capitalists and aristocrats.

— 24 September

STICK IT TO THE GREENS!

We need a working-class party

How is it that Zack Polanski, a former hypnotist, ex-Liberal Democrat and ex-Zionist witch hunter is seen as the last great hope for a left alternative to Starmer's Labour? It's pretty obvious that Polanski would love nothing better than to see Your Party fail. His social media is filled with videos gleefully promoting the Greens as Your Party lurches from one disaster to another. And as frustrations mount with the destructive squabbles over organisational structures, there are droves of people in Your Party that have begun looking to Polanski. But sucking up to this quintessential London liberal only serves to drive away any potential working-class support.

The point of Your Party is ***not*** to be the Greens; they are hated by workers. And with good reason. In the name of protecting the environment, Green ideology has led to plant closures and job losses, as well as despised taxes (such as ULEZ) on working people who cannot afford new cars. In Brighton, when the city council was run by the Greens in 2021, they did their bit to break the bin strike. So much for "making work fair"!

Polanski has been doing the media rounds trashing Starmer, talking a tough game against Labour. But at the Green Party conference he left little doubt about what his real red line is. Polanski put stopping Farage above everything else because "that's what's at stake here", leaving the door open to a coalition with Starmer. He was explicit about this on Novara Media, saying "I would still find it very difficult, by the way, to make Keir Starmer prime minister." Difficult…but not impossible. A Starmer-Green coalition however would only strengthen Farage's hand. Workers are turning to Farage and Reform because they are fed up with decades of austerity in the name of "anti-racism", "inclusiveness" and "saving the planet". To leave open the possibility of a Starmer-Green alliance means that Polanski in no way represents a break with the establishment.

A talking point often raised by Polanski is his promise to fight for a fairer Britain. But there's no way this can happen as long as Britain remains loyal to the American Empire and is

a partner in its crimes around the world. He supports remaining in NATO, longs to rejoin the EU, and the Greens want tougher sanctions on Russia. Zack may not be thrilled with Trump as US commander-in-chief, but all his criticism notwithstanding, his aim is to maintain the imperialist alliance. Given that, any promises he makes to build a "fairer Britain" will be strictly limited to what is acceptable to the American and European warmongers.

If there's one thing two-faced Zack is good at it's knowing which way the wind blows and shifting his positions accordingly. Everyone seems to have forgotten that he once took part in hounding Corbyn from Labour over claims that the party was rife with anti-Semitism. Now the winds have changed and apparently so has Zack. Two years of a bloody and brutal one-sided war against the Palestinians by Israel and countless "Free Palestine" mass marches, Polanski knows it's safe now to call it a genocide and to point out that opposing Israel does not equal anti-Semitism.

What this boils down to is that Polanski puts an eco-populist veneer on the same liberal claptrap workers have been served for years. What's more outrageous is that the left knows Zack's record and what the Greens stand for, yet they cannot bring themselves to take this fight to the Greens for fear of offending middle-class do-gooders in Your Party. If drawing a clear line against the Greens repels the liberals, all the better, let them join Polanski and his lot. A polarisation between socialists and liberals would actually be good for establishing a clear class line in Your Party and drawing in working-class support.

A good example of the kind of wishy-washy opposition to the Greens that turns out to be nothing of the sort is the Socialist Party. They say the Green Party "does not have a socialist ideology, a vision of an alternative system to capitalism". Obvious enough, but that's not something the Greens even claim to have. Yet for the purpose of elections, the SP thinks it's "better surely that the Green Party is invited to affiliate to 'Your Party'" in order to hold candidates "accountable" (socialistparty.org.uk, 10 September). What's needed is to fight for a differentiation between socialists and the Greens, not to merge the two banners.

The point of building a new party in Britain is to provide a socialist alternative to Labour that can unite the working class and oppressed minorities in a struggle against their common enemy—the City of London and the British establishment—and change the political balance of forces. This means winning over the working class, who want nothing to do with Polanski. To do that, the task of socialists is to stop being so squeamish already and make a clear fight against the Greens.

— 9 October

NATO, Zionism, class politics

Make Sultana's speech party policy

At the Liverpool Your Party launch meeting earlier this month, Zarah Sultana gave a fiery speech for socialism, arguing for "the working class controlling the wealth that they produce" and calling to "embrace class war because it's about time we won." She also called for our movement to be pro-trans, "proudly anti-Zionist" and "unashamedly anti-imperialist", calling NATO an "imperialist war machine" which cannot be "greenwashed"—a direct jab at pro-NATO Zack Polanski. Like many Your Party members, we welcome this!

But unfortunately, none of these sharp political points made it into the Your Party founding documents. The political statement, apart from the word "socialist", is a vague and toothless one-page note. Rather than opposition to Zionism and NATO, we have "opposition to a global system of imperial domination". Rather than workers control of the means of production, we have the abstract "transfer of wealth and power" to the "majority". Rather than sharp points drawing a line against the ruling class, we have vague "values", written to be acceptable to basically anyone left of Starmer.

It is obvious that most of the energy went into the three other documents laying out the structure of the party, and not what the party should actually fight for. Yet this is of paramount importance. Parties are built first and foremost on political ideas. An organisational structure is useful only if it serves a political aim. Without clear principles answering the great questions of our time, we cannot build a strong party. So, with regional assemblies scheduled to prepare for the founding conference, what should socialists do?

The task must be to fight in Your Party meetings for Sultana's speech to become party policy. Zarah's speech was welcomed by many members. What matters now is that it does not remain a dead letter. And if we have learned anything, it is that if the members don't fight and instead place their faith in the hands of these leaders, nothing will happen. And this very much includes Sultana.

Concretely, socialists should argue, including by trying to pass motions at meetings, for Your Party to be:

Staunchly anti-Zionist
Clearly anti-NATO
For class-struggle politics

Membership in NATO is directly linked to the falling living standards of the working class. Increased militarism to satisfy the US's demands means austerity. As for Zionism, it means support for the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians and continued war in the Middle East. More broadly, these two points act as a loyalty oath to the American Empire and its wars abroad. This is why support to NATO and Zionism are such red lines for the British ruling class and are imposed on every politician. Any concessions on these are the first step towards capitulation. We already saw this when Corbyn was Labour leader.

As for class-struggle politics, it is high time that the left gets back to it. For decades now, the left has been dominated by liberal middle-class politics, ie accepting the existing capitalist system while giving it a progressive veneer, accepting the US-dominated "rules-based order" and pushing change through gradual reformism and identity politics. This has only led to countless betrayals while pushing many workers into the arms of the far right. Let the Greens defend the legacy of liberalism. Your Party should stand for socialist, working-class politics.

We cannot let the discussions for the foundation of a new socialist party be dominated exclusively by organisational questions of structure. Yes, we need a democratic party structure. But what we need above all else is a political fight to define what Your Party should be, and what it shouldn't. Sultana's Liverpool speech was a good first step. Now, the real test is to fight to make those good words a reality.

— 22 October

The Met just moved the trash

Sweep UKIP off the streets!

The UK Independence Party's (UKIP) planned march in Whitechapel, London, on Saturday has now been cancelled by the Met police. While it is understandable that many residents of this largely Muslim area are relieved that this provocation is not happening, what the Met has actually done is to save UKIP from a humiliating defeat on the streets. When the Met says it is acting to "prevent serious disorder", they don't mean UKIP terrorising Tower Hamlets. They mean local residents and anti-fascist forces sending UKIP packing. UKIP is still going to march on Saturday in Hyde Park, promoting their racist crusade for "mass deportations", only now facing significantly less opposition.

Let's be clear. UKIP is positioning itself as the street-fighting face of the far right. They want to recruit the worst kind of scum by means of intimidation and violence against Muslims, minorities and leftists. There is nothing to debate with these thugs. The means to stop them growing is to defeat them on the streets and send them away with their tails between their legs. In the wake of the disaster of 13 September, this would be a welcome win for our side. Tower Hamlets, with a long and proud history of beating back fascist and far-right mobilisations, looked poised to hand them such a defeat.

It is precisely the fear that what organisers had called a "peaceful, community protest" could turn into an actual rout of UKIP that likely led local councillors to call for the Met to intervene. Now, the same forces wishing to curb a militant fight against these thugs are calling for a victory march in Whitechapel, while UKIP marches elsewhere, effectively splitting the forces set to oppose UKIP on the street.

This is a lesson in why you cannot look to the police to stop racist thugs. The left can always go on abstractly, and some already are, about how police bans can be used against the left, which is true. But this misses the point that right now the ban is being used to disarm the left and militant anti-fascists!

The Met action has demobilised and split the planned counter-protest. It has saved UKIP from very

likely humiliation and allowed them to claim martyrdom as supposed victims of the so-called “Islamists”. And the Met will still be in Hyde Park to protect UKIP from whatever forces do show up to face them on Saturday.

We can have a victory parade if these scum find themselves swimming in the Thames. In the meantime, we need mass mobilisation to sweep UKIP off the streets—starting this Saturday in Hyde Park!

— 22 October

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Why liberals hate Zarah Sultana

Zarah Sultana's recent round of interviews has sent liberals into meltdown. Her "crime"? Calling NATO an "imperialist war machine", saying that Zelensky "isn't a friend of the working class" and—sin of all sins!—attacking the Green Party for supporting NATO and refusing to cut ties with Israel. These basic truths have led a whole cabal of liberals, pro-imperialist "progressives" and pro-Ukraine warmongers to line up and denounce Zarah.

From Labour MPs like Luke Charters (who he?) to NATO stooge and turncoat Paul Mason; from Pussy Riot to *Spectator* hacks; all took turns to lash out at Sultana, shrieking about "Putin's talking points"—the standard accusation thrown at anyone who does not support nuclear war with Russia. Any socialist worth their salt should know that if these imperialist cockroaches are furious, she's touched a raw nerve.

Alas! A whole line-up of liberals who think they are socialists not only joined in but even initiated the backlash. Owen Jones (who, as a rule, picks the wrong side in a fight) attacked Sultana for hair-splitting over "minor" differences. Same theme from Novara Media host Michael Walker. Nish Kumar dutifully defended NATO. The Foreign Office socialists of the Ukraine Solidarity Campaign launched a whole tirade against her on X in defence of NATO's war aims. Unsurprisingly, all these figures orbit around the Greens.

Sultana's comments, and the reaction to them, have the benefit of revealing that a huge part of the British left is in fact nothing more than liberals who think internationalism means supporting NATO's war drive against Russia, and that socialism is possible without opposing the biggest imperialist alliance ever created.

Also, the reaction to Sultana's comments shows that NATO isn't a "minor" issue, as the liberals argue, but a red line for the ruling class. Why do you think every journalist always asks left-wing leaders their views on NATO? It isn't to make conversation. It's because the ruling class needs to know who they can work with (ie, co-opt), and who is simply beyond the pale.

That's the difference between Polanski, who merely criticises

NATO but wants to remain in it, and Sultana, who calls it what it is—an imperialist war machine that Britain must quit. Polanski's position is compatible with the aims of the ruling class, just sprinkled with pacifist glitter that will be easy to brush off when push comes to shove. Sultana's is a clear threat to the British rulers that must be crushed. And, for this, they are already getting the assistance of their liberal coterie.

Sultana is under tremendous pressure to stop talking about NATO and criticising the Greens. But the main danger will not necessarily come from those who are attacking her in public. Rather, chances are that it will come from the layer of crusty councillors and conservative independent MPs who have real control of Your Party. No doubt, behind the scenes they will try to twist her arm to shut her up.

What Sultana needs to do is to openly declare a faction. She needs to stop pretending that the leaders of Your Party are not absolutely opposed to her politics, and openly rally people to her positions. Without this, her good words are only her personal opinion and will provide a left cover for Corbyn, Adnan Hussain and the rest of the discredited clique that pulls the strings in Your Party. Socialists must argue for this, and must fight in the regional assemblies so that Sultana's sharp points over NATO, Zionism and class-struggle politics become party policy.

But so far, where has the socialist left been? There has been a deafening silence in almost all quarters of the far left against the anti-Sultana liberal backlash. Apparently, the RCP has just given up on Your Party and has become infatuated with the Greens. The SP is banging on about next year's local elections and a "no-cuts People's Budget", completely removed from the actual struggle in Your Party. The SWP is jockeying for organisational control of local branches, careful not to offend Corbyn. Then there's Archie Woodrow, an RS21 member and leading figure of the Democratic Socialists inside Your Party. While claiming agreement with Sultana's points…he still joined the anti-Sultana bandwagon, denouncing her interventions as "dishonest" and complaining that she is "dictating policy".

To the far left: "Hello! Anybody there?!" Yes, we need to criticise Sultana. But we must first ***defend her*** against the liberal lynch mob! Those socialists who refuse to do this out of fear of alienating Corbyn, the Greens and liberals, are useless to the class struggle. Change course, or get out of the way.

— 30 October

Politics first!

The founding conference of Your Party is fast approaching. However, the conference promises to be anything but a walk in the park. All the accumulated tensions of recent months are bound to erupt in one way or another. With thousands of delegates, and infighting at the top, we can expect confused debates, clique fights and manoeuvres of all kinds. So, how can we navigate the chaos?

The task of socialists at this conference is to fight for political clarity. The only way to do this is to ***put politics first***. We must push back against distractions, tertiary disputes and turf wars, and always fight to bring the debates back to the question of ***what should this party stand for?*** This is how we can focus the discussions on the most important questions. This is also how we can fight so that the lines of division—because there will be divisions—remain on ***clear political questions***, and not on confused organisational issues or personal allegiances.

We think that to succeed, Your Party must be a radical, socialist and working-class party, ready to wage war against the ruling class. This is how we can win back workers (including those who look to Farage), fight Labour and distinguish ourselves from the liberal Greens. Vague calls for "peace", "justice" and even "socialism" will not cut it. The Party must stand for a radical break with the status quo, and this will require a struggle on the conference floor.

We urge socialists to fight to adopt clear positions against NATO, against Zionism, for class-struggle politics and for working-class power against the British imperialist rulers. Furthermore, we should fight to put the people who share those politics in leading positions. Zarah Sultana stands out as a leader who has argued for clear socialist and anti-imperialist positions. She, as well as those who take a clear side with her on these questions, must be put in the strongest organisational positions.

Achieving this would be a victory against the conservative and liberal elements in the party, who will no doubt oppose these positions. It would also be a first step to establishing Your Party as a fight-

ing alternative that is able to speak to working-class anger. Even if revolutionaries remain a minority, a debate on these questions will show where everybody stands. But to get there, we must avoid the pitfalls ahead.

Politics or rules? What is decisive?

One of the greatest dangers is that the debates and polarisations at the conference will be exclusively over organisational matters. Most of the founding documents are purely about the structure of Your Party, with the political statement being an afterthought. And many socialists are organised in the Democratic Socialist caucus, whose main focus is the organisational rules of the party. ***This is a false and dangerous road, which we must warn against***.

It would be a disaster if the central polarisation at the founding conference of a new socialist party is purely over organisational structure. An acrimonious fight for or against sortition, over the minutiae of branch structures or for or against co-leadership will only bring confusion and sideline debates over what the party should stand for.

Those around the Democratic Socialists argue: "If members can win a democratic party with a mediocre programme, the programme can be replaced later; if we win a perfect programme but have no way for members to hold their leaders accountable, then neither is secure" (K Glasssmith, *Prometheus*, 10 November). This is a totally wrong view of politics.

Politics isn't a rule book. It is an expression of the class struggle. And parties are groupings which represent classes. Now, there is a battle raging over which class Your Party will represent: the working class, or the liberal middle class. The decisive element in this struggle is ***not*** the organisational rules, but ***political positions***, which reflect contending class interests. Understood this way, one can see how placing structure over programme not only misses the entire struggle unfolding, but is a way to reconcile the working-class, socialist trend with the liberal, middle-class one.

Let's be concrete and look at Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party. Corbyn won two landslides in leadership contests ***despite*** the countless anti-democratic rules put in place by the Blairites to sabotage the left. The key element was that Corbyn struck a chord among workers and youth, who were animated because he spoke to their class aspirations in opposition to the Blairites. Fast forward four years, Corbyn's leadership ended in disaster, not because of the structure of the Labour Party (or Momentum), but because Corbyn never wanted to wage a real struggle against the Blairites. He capitulated to the Zionist offensive and ended up campaigning for the European Union.

This totally undermined his support, particularly among workers.

Corbyn's rise and fall in Labour shows that what is decisive in politics is ***not*** the rules. What is decisive is what class interests you are fighting ***for***. There is no organisational talisman against capitulating to the ruling class.

This isn't to say that structure is unimportant, or "not political". Sometimes, differences over structure hide broader differences over aims. So, we do need to fight for party democracy at the conference. We must oppose sortition, oppose the ban on dual membership—a threat to the left—and support the possibility of recalling leaders, etc. We support such measures because they can assist the fight for socialism. But these measures in themselves are not decisive. So, don't get bogged down in organisational discussions. Politics is the crucial element.

Unity? Yes! But based on what?

Some in Your Party will agree with opposition to NATO, Zionism and for working-class power. But they will then argue against making these positions party policy in the name of "unity", ie, we do not want to scare off more conservative elements. Again, here, the question is what type of party are we building?

To undercut Farage, it isn't sufficient to simply oppose him. The Greens, Labour, the SNP, Plaid Cymru are all against Farage. But they fight Reform UK by defending the status quo, which is fuelling it. To really undercut Farage, we need a party that will wage war against the status quo. This is one of the reasons why opposing NATO or Zionism are not abstract questions. Support to NATO and Israel are clear red lines for the ruling class. We cannot fight the status quo, nor fight for a fairer Britain, if we remain part of NATO and the American Empire.

The point isn't to shout slogans or to throw out everyone who disagrees with these positions. Rather, it is to fight for Your Party to be a real, working-class and radical alternative to the status quo—and making the case as to why these points are key to this purpose.

Wreckers or builders?

Many at conference are wary of left groups. They see them as a nuisance who seek to push their own little brand at the expense of the movement. Or else, as splitters and wreckers. Unfortunately, many leftists in their actions only reinforce these views. Groups like the SWP are jockeying for organisational positions in a covert manner. The RCG, while correctly pushing for key political positions, insists on the need for a premature split and openly declare that they are not interested in building Your Party. Each of these discredits the Marxist left as a whole.

The task of Marxists at the con-

ference must be to demonstrate in front of the whole membership why, ***in order to succeed in the struggles of today***, Your Party needs Marxism. This requires putting one's own narrow partisan interest aside and placing the interests of the movement first.

Again, the only way this can be done is if we concentrate on the key political questions facing Your Party. Marxists will be a minority at this conference. We will not have organisational control, nor should we seek to obtain it through manoeuvres and power plays. Rather, we must use this conference to cohere a ***revolutionary trend within Your Party*** on the basis of an open struggle for our ideas.

Obviously, this would be much easier if revolutionary groups came together in a united front on common positions. This is why we are supporting (with criticisms) Zarah Sultana. Not only does she draw a number of clear socialist lines, but every socialist can get behind what she is currently pushing.

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This conference will likely be a mess. The way to cut through the confusion and endless debate is to ***put politics first***. Put secondary considerations to the side, hammer out clear socialist lines, link up with those who agree with you and always keep your eyes on the goal: building a working-class, socialist party. Join us in this struggle!

— 13 November

SPARTACIST

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Supplement
13 November 2025

The World at a Turning Point

President Trump (top right), Jakarta, Indonesia, August 25: Cops mobilize against protest demanding dissolution of parliament in front of the House of Representatives building (center). U.S. aircraft carrier Gerald R. Ford which has long been deployed to Caribbean as part of U.S. military threats against Venezuela (bottom).

Brendan Smialowski/AFP; Yasuyoshi Chiba/AFP; U.S. Strategic Command

Where is the world going? Are we witnessing "a worldwide chain of mass movements, insurrections, uprisings and revolutions," as the Revolutionary Communist International (RCI) claims? Or is "the Land of Lincoln…being transformed by Trump and his arrogant satraps into the land of a would-be Führer," as the Socialist Equality Party believes? Maybe it's a bit of both, and "in the coming months, we could see a combined process of wars, revolutions and counterrevolutions which might open a *pre-revolutionary or even revolutionary world situation*" (Revolutionary Communist International Tendency). If Trotskyists have conflicting views on where we are heading, they aren't alone. Everywhere you look you'll find comments about "the rise of fascism," "the collapse of the dollar," "stock bubbles," "the AI revolution" and "world war."

If there is so much confusion, it's because the world is rapidly approaching a decisive ***turning point***—and like the calm before the storm, we're receiving a lot of mixed signals. But the question remains, where are we heading? To answer this as Marxists, we cannot just jump from headline to headline or look at the latest opinion polls. We need to understand the inner dynamics of world events and distinguish the dominant currents from secondary countercurrents. This method does not rule out mistakes or unforeseen events, but it provides the only way to avoid being swept up in impressionism.

We in the International Communist League believe this is the dawn of a ***reactionary period*** of capitalist offensive, in which the living conditions of working people will be attacked on a scale not seen in decades. This is not to say that it will be a one-sided battle and we should simply stand by and give up. Quite the contrary. It calls for steeled resolve, defensive actions and serious preparation. The stronger the resistance, the quicker the working class can go on the offensive. But to do this effectively, advanced workers and the socialist movement need a correct understanding of the rhythm and direction of events.

Unfortunately, as the examples above suggest, most leftists have a view of the world that is totally at odds with reality.

SPARTACIST

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Palestine

Kill the Deal!

Palestinians flee northern Gaza Strip after intensified Israeli bombardment, September 16. Inset: Netanyahu and Trump second at White House, September 29.

Brandon Bell/Getty Images; Mahmud Hams/AFP

…e genocide in Gaza must stop. But only fools can expect …p and Netanyahu to bring peace to the Middle East. The …they unveiled on September 29 demands total capitu… by the Palestinian resistance and offers only further …ed subjugation. Although it is easy for any pro-Palestine …ver to see how this deal is obscene and would be a …r, answering what should be done is much more dif… The Palestinian resistance finds itself in a corner. The …ocratic situation in Gaza is only getting worse, there is …y to defeat Israel militarily. And there is a strong sen…timent that this conflict must end. Moreover, the diplomatic pressure is extremely intense, with the whole world lining up behind Trump.

It may appear on the surface that making major concessions, such as releasing the hostages, accepting a technocratic government and disarming, will bring an end to the suffering. But the truth is that it will only give Israel a free hand to exterminate the Palestinians. Just look at what happened in 1982, when the armed Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters acceded to withdrawing from Lebanon. This opened the road for the Sabra and Shatila massacres, marginalized the PLO and paved the way for the Oslo Accords. To retreat

Sabra and Shatila Must Not Be Repeated!

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